1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[p. vii]
[p. vi is blank]

Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46).

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

121 [114] throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959 gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan- [122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after [652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.
>
> It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

About the Series

121

THESE CASE studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

114

Ernestine Friedl is associate professor of anthropology and sociology at Queens College in New York. She holds the Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. Before coming to Queens, she taught at Wellesley College and at Brooklyn College. She has done field work among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, and has published material on that tribe. Her field work in Greece was done in 1955-1956 and has resulted in several articles for professional journals as well as this book. Dr. Friedl has served as secretary-treasurer of the American Ethnological Society and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

About the Book

Life in Vasilika has a flavor of its own. As Dr. Friedl points out in the introduction, one has two reactions in viewing this way of life for the first time—a strong sense of its familiarity and a surprised awareness of its strangeness. In the exploitation of these two dimensions, she has given us a compelling and intellectually satisfying analysis of a village in a contemporary national society that has ancient historic roots.

In this book the author makes one concrete part of life flow into another—from land resources to cotton cultivation, division of labor, concepts of cleanliness and order, the furnishing of homes, the dowry system, the ceremonies and festivities. And everywhere the evaluations that the people of Vasilika place upon these parts of life are made clear. In this way a patterned way of life as a whole emerges, and the reader learns about what the people do, and with what resources, at the same time he is learning about what the people think and feel about what they do.

[P. viii is blank]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Introduction

THE WAY OF LIFE of a rural village in modern Greece exists in a setting significantly different from that of the cultures and societies anthropologists have been accustomed to study. Cultural and social anthropologists traditionally have concentrated their professional interests on what are usually called the primitive peoples of the world. These include the Indians of North and South America, the Eskimo, the indigenous populations of Africa south of the Sahara, of Australia, and of the islands of the Pacific. What all these peoples had in common was not crudeness or inferiority; nor were they necessarily at the beginning stages of human cultural evolution, as the Latin root of the word "primitive" would suggest.

By the fifteenth century, when European explorations began in earnest, many of these primitive peoples had long since developed assured food supplies through the domestication of plants and animals, and had densely populated, complex stratified societies with sophisticated cosmologies and art styles. The Maya of Yucatan had conceived the mathematical concept of the zero, and both they and the Aztecs of Mexico had a rudimentary system of writing. But whether the primitive people were simple hunting and gathering populations who depended on wild foods, or whether they were pastoralists using their flocks for subsistence and for products to trade, or whether they were the sophisticated West Africans or Incas, the characteristic that they all had in common and that lay at the base of what was called their "primitiveness" was the fact that the cultures of these peoples had received no significant recent influences from either of the two early centers of cultural development on the Eurasiatic continent.

One of these centers was the Near East, where it appears that seed grasses such as wheat and barley were first domesticated, and where sheep, goats, and cattle were first controlled by men. The techniques for raising and cultivating these plants and animals spread south to Egypt, east to India, and west to Europe, where they furnished the original subsistence base for the development of the Egyptian, Hindu, and ancient Greek and Roman cultures. North China

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 was a second center where similar plants and animals were domesticated. Whether the Chinese subsistence base diffused directly from the Near East, or whether it is at least partly a separate development is not yet clear from the archeological evidence. In any case, the new techniques served as the subsistence base for the development of Far Eastern civilization. Some four thousand years ago systems of writing were invented in both these centers: the alphabet in the Near East and the logograph in the Far East. These systems spread in different directions but had not yet reached the American Indians, the Eskimo, the Africans south of the Sahara, the Australians, or the Pacific islanders by the time of the first European explorations.

For many primitive societies, then, the subsistence base was different from that of the Old World. In the New World, the more complex societies depended on different groups of domesticated plants and animals, on maize rather than wheat, for example, and on the llama and the alpaca, rather than cattle. Further, with the exception of the Maya and the Aztecs, the primitive peoples had developed no writing systems of their own. Nor did these peoples participate in the major world religions that had developed in the course of the last four thousand years of Eurasiatic history and that eventually depended upon sacred and semisacred written texts. With few exceptions the religions of the primitive peoples were derived neither from the Judaeo-Christian and Islamic traditions nor from the Hindu-Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucian.

Because European and American scholars were deeply steeped in the origins, history, and contemporary patterns of their own cultures, for them the main value of the study of the primitive peoples lay in the contrasts they provided with the ancient and modern variations of the way of life derived from the Near East.

The different historical provenience of the cultures of the American Indians, the Polynesians, and the rest made them exotic and interesting and, at the same time, gave to European scholars a natural laboratory of human cultural variation in which to test generalizations and hypotheses largely derived from analyzing the written records of their own tradition. Whenever cultural forms or social structures among the primitive peoples were similar to those known in the European tradition, some form of explanation other than similar historical derivation had to be found. In addition, the efforts to reconstruct the history of primitive societies and cultures and to analyze their contemporary functioning led to the formulation of new hypotheses concerning the history and evolution of cultures and societies in general, and concerning the nature of man himself.

In the last two decades many cultural anthropologists have turned to the study of societies whose cultures are in the main line of Near Eastern tradition. They have done so because of a conviction that the techniques and insights developed through the study of primitive societies are useful for the description and analysis of all societies. Although some anthropologists have ventured into the study of groups in urban centers, the majority of those interested in learning the ways of life of the co-heirs of their own civilization have concentrated on what have been called "folk" or "peasant" societies, or, to phrase it more descriptively, the rural populations of modern nations. Application of anthropological tech-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

niques to such groups has raised some new problems in method and interpretation. 121

The customary discussion of these new problems includes questions concerning the appropriateness of delineating a small rural village as the unit for observation when, as in Latin America and in Europe, such villages may not be economically, socially, politically, or culturally isolated from the larger societies of which they are a part. Awareness of this problem has led to special emphasis on the analysis of types of association between the territorially based group which is the main focus of the study, and similar neighboring communities, towns, and cities, and also on the analysis of the way in which national economic, religious, educational, and political institutions impinge on the life of the small unit. Such information and discussion are inherent parts of this study.

Another significant question is the extent to which the village chosen can be considered typical either of similar neighboring communities or of the culture of the entire nation, or of both. When national cultures cover large areas of varied terrain and have huge populations distributed in villages, towns, and cities, it is likely that there will be some regional and community variation in culture and social structure. It is therefore sensible to ask whether in describing the ways of life in the Greek village of Vasilika one also succeeds in describing the essential culture of other farm settlements and the values and attitudes of all Greeks now living in Greece. When we give lectures on Vasilika either to professional or to lay groups, someone always asks, "How did you choose your village?"

Anthropologists have concerned themselves with the methods of choosing communities for study in such a way as to guarantee some degree of representativeness. One solution to the problem has been to compare certain features of the village with the numerical and percentage distribution of those features in the nation as a whole. One might compare the age and sex distribution of the village population with that of the entire nation, or the age at marriage, or the size of families, or the proportion of farmers to shepherds, or the average real income, and the like, and conclude that if the village resembled the nation in these respects, it had some claim to representativeness.

Another solution, the one used in this study, is to choose a settlement which seems from my reading, my observation, and my discussion with Greeks to have frequently recurring features of rural villages, even if such features are not necessarily characteristic of all such settlements. One hopes that intensive study of such a community will be a contribution to the understanding of rural culture and social structure in the nation, and that some values and attitudes of the people observed will be shared by the total population. The discovery of which of the values and attitudes are shared and the more general question of typicality can be postponed until similar studies are done of rural communities in different regions and of town and urban populations of different occupations and social positions (cf. Sanders 1962).

We chose Vasilika in Boeotia for special study both because it exhibits some of the features just mentioned, and also because it is suitable for the application of anthropological field work techniques. Its common Greek plains village 121 105

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

features include the compact arrangement of its houses, with the fields surrounding them, its accessibility to paved roads, its mixed subsistence and cash crop farming, and the existence within the village of a school, two coffeehouses and stores, several church structures, and a resident priest. In a negative sense, one of Vasilika's features is that there is nothing unusual in its history or present situation which would markedly differentiate it from other farming villages of the region. It has never been the subject of any special agricultural extension campaigns, none of the villagers have wealthy overseas relatives interested in improving the village as a whole, and it is outside the orbit of the tourist. If there is anything unusual about the village, it was the arrival of several shepherd families in 1950 and their subsequent political and social integration into the community.

Vasilika is suitable from the standpoint of field work techniques for several reasons. First, since it has a population of only 216, two field workers could expect to know everyone in the community. Second, the speech of the inhabitants is a form of Greek with only minor dialectic variations from the Athenian demotic form (see glossary) that we had studied in preparation for our work. And third, one of the families in the village was willing to have us live in the upper story of their house, which is located close to the center of the village.

Vasilika's way of life must be understood as completely representative only of itself, but in some of its general features it has most in common with other farming villages on the Boeotian plain. The degree to which the habits, values, and attitudes of the villagers resemble those of other Greeks, at this stage of our knowledge, must remain on the level of impressions. As a rural settlement, however, Vasilika has many features in common with farming villages that are segments of old national cultures in other parts of the world. The culture of the village is assuredly not in all its aspects a uniquely Greek phenomenon. Students of similar villages in other parts of Europe, the Near East, Latin America, and Asia will find many features of the culture and social structure of Vasilika familiar to them. But even these specialists will find a goodly number of features and especially of combinations of features that are entirely unfamiliar, for they are features that are uniquely Hellenic.

Two problems of particular relevance to anthropological studies of the rural populations of modern nations have been considered: the usefulness of choosing a rural settlement as the unit of observation, together with the new lines of investigation such a choice requires; and the selection of a particular settlement for study. These problems present their difficulties, but anthropologists working in old national cultures have some advantages; they can consult the works of other specialists. In Greece, for example, an anthropologist need not act as his own historian, economist, political scientist, psychologist, and sociologist. Folklorists have long been collecting oral literature and folk costumes from all sections of the country. Greeks and non-Greeks alike have produced many varied reports on Greek life and culture, both ancient and modern. Neither does an anthropologist working in Greece have to act as a geographer or agrono-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

mist—these specialties already exist and their practitioners can be consulted. Nor does the anthropologist have to discover the structure of the language for himself, nor is his vocabulary limited to what he can learn directly from the people he studies. An anthropologist working in old national cultures is able to concentrate his energies in the field on that aspect of his profession for which he is specifically trained and best fitted: the observation of the behavior of those he lives with for the purpose of discovering its regularities, its range of variation, its internal interrelationships, and its association or articulation with the culture of the nation of which the village community is a part.

There are, however, some unexpected mental hazards in doing anthropological field work in a society whose culture is a contemporary variation on one's own basic tradition. We had two opposite reactions to the way of life of the village; one was a strong sense of its familiarity, and the other was a surprised awareness of its strangeness. The sense of familarity grows out of the similarity of so many cultural elements with those one knows from home; the sense of strangeness partially from the often slight variation in the form of the elements, but more particularly from the way the elements are combined, from the new patterns created by a different organization of the items and by the different contexts in which they appear.

A trivial example may illustrate the point. If the cultural element under discussion is adult footwear, we are immediately conscious of familiar elements. Shoes and slippers are purchased, not manufactured by each family; men and women do not wear the same types; the man's shoe is a standard low oxford tie, and the women wear leather pumps with medium high heels, or cloth slippers. The shoes, pumps, and slippers are within the range of styles for such items available in the United States. But the contexts in which the Greek villagers wear their shoes and slippers provide surprises. Men in Vasilika wear ordinary oxfords for work in the fields, for walking in mud, rain, and even snow during the winter—with no other foot protection. When the fields are flooded for irrigation, men remove their shoes and work barefoot. Within their houses, men do not change into slippers; they do not own any. Women, on the other hand, wear cloth slippers both indoors and outdoors, around the house and in the fields, in all weathers and in all seasons. Their leather pumps are saved for church, for holidays, and for journeys. On such occasions women wear pumps regardless of the weather. They daintily pick their way through muddy, unpaved village paths and stand for hours in unsubstantial pumps on the stone floor of the unheated church each Sunday throughout the cold, rainy winter.

Ways in which the same cultural elements are differently combined in the Greek village from the way they are in the United States will be noticed as family organization, values, and the like are discussed. The hazard this kind of situation creates for the anthropological field worker is that he may not even become aware of certain characteristics of village culture because their superficial familiarity leads him to take them for granted. For example, once I learned that farm animals and stores of farm produce were not kept in the houses, I assumed they must be maintained in buildings of distinctive design. Although

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

121 this turned out to be partially true, it was not entirely so, and many of the stone
343 structures I had labeled as homes, because they had the same form as houses,
were actually stables and storehouses.

128 The material presented in this book has been selected and organized in such a way as to emphasize the major interests and preoccupations of the villagers, rather than to demonstrate explicitly the ways in which knowledge about the village can be helpful for the solution of general anthropological problems of theoretical import. I am using the data on which this brief ethnography is based in connection with such problems elsewhere.

A final note is in order. In describing the people of Vasilika I have avoided using the term "peasant" for two reasons. First, the layman's concept of the peasant often includes the traits of stupidity and stubborn resistance to change that are by no means characteristic of the people of Vasilika. And second, social scientists have not yet arrived at a definition of the term that is generally accepted among them. References to the current discussion of this latter problem appear in the reading list.

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece[1]

ERNESTINE FRIEDL
Queens College

121
369

FOR some time anthropologists have been trying to refine their understandings of the relationships of peasant communities to the nations of which they are a part. Pioneer acculturation studies in Latin America pointed up the significantly different possibilities in this regard between physically isolated communities and those with access to roads and bus service and the like. The stress here was on analysis of the selectivity with which rural populations took over and adapted culture traits encountered in the cities (Redfield 1930:218–223; Beals 1951:5).

In a recent article Eric Wolf emphasizes the contrast between economically isolated rural communities producing primarily for subsistence and those which, because they produce cash crops, must maintain credit and market connections outside the local communities. Wolf stresses the cultural and social ramifications in the local community which he believes develop from the degree of its economic dependence on the town and its representatives (Wolf 1955:461–466). In a later article, Wolf describes as "a web of group relations" the actual mechanism by which peasant communities are connected to the towns (Wolf 1956:1066). In Wolf's discussion, the groups participating include not only the peasant and his economic mediator or "broker," as Wolf calls him, but also the political functionaries who act as intermediaries between the rural community and the national controls centered in the cities.

Redfield, in his most recent summary and analysis of the literature on peasant communities, characterizes these communities as societies ". . . in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development" (Redfield 1956:60). This elite he conceptualizes with a cultural rather than a structural emphasis. He defines it not primarily in terms of its economic and political power, but rather as the group of educated people who interpret to the villagers both urban customs and the great national literary and artistic traditions, and who also manage those affairs of peasants which are connected with the national institutions (Redfield 1956:60–65, 101–102). Both Wolf and Redfield make the point that the mediating groups need not be outsiders in the physical sense. Wolf notes that economically successful peasants who remain in the local community have become "brokers" (Wolf 1956:1075). Redfield mentions the "intelligentsia" who may live in the villages although they consider themselves among the urban educated classes (Redfield 1956:61–62). He also mentions that the elite may be relatives of the peasants (Redfield 1956:134). Wolf, by contrast, in his description of the characteristics of open peasant communities, suggests that the accumulation of wealth and the necessity for display which presumably

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57).

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all.

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

REFERENCES CITED

ANTONAKAKI, KALLINIKI DENDRINOU
1955 Greek education. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

ARENSBERG, CONRAD M., and SOLON T. KIMBALL
1940 Family and community in Ireland. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

BARNES, J. A.
1954 Class and committees in a Norwegian island parish. Human Relations 7:39–58.

BEALS, RALPH L.
1951 Urbanism, urbanization, and acculturation. American Anthropologist 55:1–10.

BERNOT, LUCIEN, and RENÉ BLANCARD
1953 Nouville, un village français. Paris, Université, Institute d'ethnologie, Travaux et Mémoires 57.

BOTTOMORE, T. B.
1954 Higher civil servants in France. Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology, London, International Sociological Association, Volume II:143–152.

FIRTH, RAYMOND, ed.
1956 Two studies of kinship in London. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, 15.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

FOREWORD

In 1946 the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund focused their attention upon Greece as a crucial area in the developing world tension. That was before the declaration of the "Truman Doctrine" brought American support to replace the traditional British influence; well before Greece became an ally within NATO. A Twentieth Century Fund team visited the country, and *Report on the Greeks* by Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill and Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill was published by the Fund in 1948.

Eight years later, in the summer of 1956, Mr. McNeill was in a position to revisit Greece. It seemed useful to encourage him to bring up to date the earlier account. The present volume is in the nature of one man's attempt to see objectively but sympathetically the impact of American aid and of western policy upon a people at once variable and tenacious, blending old and new in a pattern uniquely its own.

In the nature of things, the end of the story cannot yet be told. Yet this interim record may help cast needed light. The foreign economic policies of the United States are being tested on a worldwide stage. The villages and towns of Greece provide one corner where experience has been gained – a corner that is by no means the least instructive, nor the least hopeful in its implications.

AUGUST HECKSCHER, *Director*
The Twentieth Century Fund

330 West 42 Street, New York
August 1957

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

743
758

the result of curing practices, but the means used depend upon and have some consequences for the economic, religious, and social organization of the society, for its belief systems, and for the psychological characteristics of individuals.[4]

Studies analyzing the social roles involved in illness and of the nature and extent of hospital care in the United States have led to the same conclusions.[5] Therefore, in the interests both of successful therapy and of humanity, it is usually recommended that scientific knowledge about illness and the practices associated with its cure be introduced in such a way as to take account of the latent functions of the indigenous behavior. But how practically to implement this recommendation is always a problem.[6]

●[121]

The Boeotian situation, to be sure, did not result from conscious planning along the recommended lines. It is here suggested, however, that this situation provides, in certain respects at least, the virtual equivalent of a case study in the successful operation of the recommended principles. The following description is presented with this in mind, and does not purport to be in any sense a total study of illness in the society described.

757
758

Comparison of Home Care and Hospitalization

Let us first look at the treatment of illness in a Greek village home. Much as in the United States, the first day or so of fever or other sign of illness is treated with bed rest and home remedies. Aspirin is known, and in the Greek village of 1956 penicillin and other antibiotics are sold in the village store, and their use comes under the head of home remedies. But, significantly enough, the antibiotics will be administered only if some relative of the family (not necessarily a physician

[113]

4. For a discussion of manifest and latent functions see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 21-81. See also A. H. Leighton and D. C. Leighton, *op. cit.*, and B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 477; also Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

5. Lawrence K. Frank, "Psycho-cultural Approaches to Medical Care," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 45-55 (1952); Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 428-479; Talcott Parsons and Renee Fox, "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American Family," *Journal of Social Issues*, 8, 31-44 (1952); Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, *Social Science in Medicine*, New York, The Russell Sage Foundation, 1954, pp. 170-193.

6. George M. Foster, "Relationships Between Theoretical and Applied Anthropology," *Human Organization*, 11 (3), 5-16 (1952); B. D. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[p. 24(B)]

/3/

A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish.

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi.

/4 cont./

Selection of the Village

121
621
[123]

The author's intimate relationship with the farmers of the village and his use of it as a demonstration center for village extension work has led him to select it for this study. Another reason that led the author to select it was of the uniform economy and the uniform social stratification. Due to equal distribution of land there were no class distinctions.

Available Data Based on Eight Years of Experience. 128

The discussions and principles discussed in Rural Social Organization, under Dr. Sanderson, are applied as far as they fit the conditions. A careful farm survey was taken with 40 representative farmers out of 120 families. These farmers were representatives due to the fact that only 6 years elapsed since the equal distribution of land. They had the same implements and all of them had nothing except what they got from the government. My close relationship with them and the nature of my work has helped me in my observations. /5/

125
[423]
123

The village of Megali Vrisi: Its location, geography and physical characteristics.

621
103
[101]
[167]

The village of Megali Vrisi is only 45 kilometers from the city of Salonica. It lies in the south-central part of Macedonia. Before the refugees moved in, it was occupied by the Turks who at the arrival of the Greeks left for Turkey. Its Turkish name was Armoutchi. Previous to this Turkish name it had a Greek name. The foundations of the mosque that were dug by the refugees in order to get the stones bore in Greek letters the date that it was built and the names of the church committee. In fact many of the names of the surrounding villages were changed quite often at different periods by the respective people that occupied them, either Turks, Bulgarians, Albanians or Greeks.

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

114 Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek
*342 Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

●121 When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25
*342 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats, questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.

[476] Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building, how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

in order to help him in his activities; thus he creates deviations from the traditional type, variations from the original form. The scholar may see the solutions which the man of the people finds for the various problems connected with house construction, with storage of cattle foodstuffs, shelter of cattle and arrangement of space. He may see his very spiritual and productive forces in action and in full application. For, the methods and means which the popular builder uses in solving these problems, reflect the thought, the practical mind, the creative force, the sence of beauty of the man of the people. This is why it is difficult for me to understand how it is possible that a study of art and material life of the people can be separated from the whole folklore research, as if it was a separate subject; because the things as such are of great interest for folklore study as constituting elements of popular civilization studied by it, and on the other hand, because the man of the people, whose spiritual and creative forces are investigated by Folklore, is acting behind these things. 121 342*

Researches on the popular house are naturally of great importance both for ethnology and for the general history of civilization, but the same holds true for all the subjects of folklore research, especially for those transmitted from people to people.

It is evident that each effort to proceed to a general synthesis of the forms of the Greek house and of its relation to the houses of the other peoples of the Balkans and of Asia Minor assumes the collection of various and abundant comparative material, pertaining to the arrangement of the plan as well as to the methods of construction. I think however that such an attempt, at least as far as the Greek side is concerned, is not premature to-day.

The war and the occupation, and later the communist rebellion, supported from abroad, apart from the other calamities, had as a result the destruction of a great number of houses. The private houses, public buildings, schools, churches and communal buildings destroyed amount to 430.000. The destruction is so big that in future we shall know the architectural forms of some areas only by surveys made in those areas. 121 362 727 653

The urgent need to reconstruct the ruins and to rehabilitate the agricultural economy of the country, made necessary, even during the occupation, the reorganization of the Survey Office of the Town Planning Service, and the creation, immediately after the liberation, of the Ministry of Reconstruction, whose program of works includes the knowledge of the locally prevailing types and forms of popular

architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the General Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclusions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to the more general study, outlined above.

It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek countryside besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bungalow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards improve, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphically on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can find each of these forms in the explanations given at them. (1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

---

1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Eleutherios Skepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make the different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece.[1] The land is so mountainous, precipitous and stony that out of the 50,100 square miles that constitute the area of Greece, only 25 per cent are usable as fields, orchards and pastures.[2] Yet on this land, out of a population of 7,335,675, according to 1940 figures, 60 per cent are directly engaged in agriculture, and another 15 per cent cater to the needs of the farmers.[3] This condition, as well as a growing population, is basic to the need for technical change in Greece. Through more than 2,500 years, Greece solved the problem of increasing population on limited land by sending out her people as colonists or immigrants. In the first two decades of this century, emigration to the United States provided the main solution. Early in the 1920s' two things took place which combined to make the population problem acute; the United States passed a law under which a quota was applied to immigrants, which limited drastically the number of Greeks who could thereafter enter the country; and the exchange of populations with Turkey, which increased the population of Greece suddenly by more than a fourth. Since then, the population figures from 1928 to 1940 indicate an annual increase of 1.5 per cent.[4] The traditional ways of farming and the traditional crops cannot support this growing population, even in terms of sheer subsistence. Change must be introduced at the very roots of the economy, striking at the relationship of man to the land and of man to his work, which is a close and meaningful one to the Greeks. How to do this without destroying the meaning of life is the question facing those entrusted with the introduction of change into this culture.

We give here a report of the basic structure, tenets, and attitudes of Greek culture which should be considered in applying change.

Greece has been undergoing induced change for several decades now. Before 1920, the centralization of political and civil affairs effected profound and permeating change in village communities which had been used to self-regulation, and where a prominent farmer spent his entire fortune to build a village school, or a schoolteacher, on hearing of the appearance of the enemy in the vicinity, could, on his own initiative, pass out arms and lead his pupils to battle. After the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1922, the Near East Foundation, helping to rehabilitate the refugees, also undertook to introduce changes in sanitation, child care and the standard of living generally. Changes in the areas of agriculture and health were

[1] A. W. Gomme, 1945, p. 11.
[2] *Report of the FAO Mission for Greece*, 1947, p. 85. (*See* United Nations, FAO).
[3] Ibid. p. 134.
[4] Ibid. p. 162.